MAZZINI'S FORESHADOWINGS OF THE COMING FAITH

BY

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WITH INTRODUCTION BY

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INTRODUCTION

In 1872 there passed out of physical life one of those rare personalities who, because ambition and publicity are far from being the goal of their desires, work chiefly unrecognised, although they are the deepest influences in history. For this reason the more overt part of their labour is usually attributed to others, and their names sink, for the great majority, into temporary obscurity. Could we, with our present knowledge, be cast back into Anno Domini 60, we should realise the most conspicuous instance of this truth. The Prophet of Nazareth lived and died in obscurity. It is the divine vitality of his ideas—gathered up only by the few,—not any splendour of deeds, that has left a mark upon humanity which, like a sign cut in the bark of a vigorous young tree, grows deeper and plainer as the years roll on. The new age, whose dawn is upon us, will perceive that another Messenger of God has fulfilled his mission and has also left an indelible mark destined to help and guide the race.

It has recently been the privilege of the writer to go through many unpublished letters of Mazzini, and also much correspondence of the late Madame Emilie Ashurst Venturi, his best translator and the person who, in England, most fully understood his thought; and the study of these documents has accentuated the fact that the significance of the great Italian's life can only be grasped by those who hold the right key to it.

That key is the religious conception which inspired him; and in the hope of presenting it to many who will derive from its use a fresh personal inspiration, the following pages are reverently put forward.

Mazzini's whole political career was the outward expression of his faith. So far as it was humanly possible he translated ideas into facts. But "Time dissipates to shining ether the solid angularity of facts," and, maybe, long after the various nations of Europe have ceased to occupy their present relative positions, morally and actually, the ideas he promulgated will rule and move the world. It is pre-eminently as a religious teacher that posterity will turn to him, and, as Madame Venturi remarks, it is indeed "greatly to be regretted that he has never given to the world a complete and elaborate exposition of the faith which he believes destined to constitute the religion of the future. Occasionally, in searching his writings, we come upon what may be called *professions de foi*, so absolute as to read almost like one of the early papal decrees; but at the same time so succinctly and synthetically expressed, that to a reader unprepared by a previous study of the subject they sound somewhat as an abstruse algebraic proposition might sound to one whose information did not extend beyond the first rules of arithmetic."

It being thus difficult, even from Madame Venturi's excellent translations (every word of which Mazzini read and endorsed), to form a clear summary of his creed and its relation to the creeds of Jesus and of the Church, it is fortunate that before his death his devoted disciple was able to bring together from out his voluminous writings the essential articles of his faith, and to show their application to problems which still in these days, as in those, cry aloud for solution. That a time of reconstruction lies immediately before us, when solution will be more than ever craved, no reasonable person can doubt, and no apology

is needed for here offering what is, practically, the substance of a long article by E. A. Venturi reprinted privately from the *Contemporary Review* of September 1871, and distributed gratuitously as a pamphlet. Of that pamphlet the edition was but small, and is long since exhausted. The introductory portion of the article being less pertinent to the circumstances of to-day than to those of its own date, it has been replaced by such prefatory remarks only as are needed to carry the reader's mind directly to Mazzini's thought.

Madame Venturi asked indulgence for the look of patch-work which she feared her article might present, explaining that the extremely abstract, synthetic method of the Italian thinker rendered condensation of his more important passages almost impossible; but so clearly and sequently has she marshalled the items of his creed, that such apology seems quite superfluous.

In no part of his works, she tells us, does Mazzini spend words in argument as to the existence of a God. To him "the attempt to prove it would seem blasphemous, as the denial appears madness; . . . Humanity has been able to transform, to disfigure, never to suppress His holy name. The undying light of faith in God pierces through all the imposture and corruption wherewith men have darkened His name. . . . Apart from God, whence can you derive duty? Without God, whatever system you attempt to lean upon, you will find it has no other foundation or basis than force—blind, tyrannical force. Either the development of human things depends upon a providential law, which we are all bound to seek to discover and apply, or it is left to chance, to passing circumstance, to that man who contrives best to turn these to account. If there be not one holy, inviolable law, uncreated by man, what rule have we by which to judge whether a given act be just or unjust? In the name of whom, or of what, shall we protest against inequality and oppression? Without God, there

is no other rule than fact, the accomplished fact; before which the materialist ever bows his head, whether its name be Bonaparte or Revolution."

The last words, showing how closely he connected secular with religious conceptions, bring us to the realisation that this man, an exile throughout his manhood for his political belief, admitted no demarcation between the outer and the inner life. For him politics were—as some day they will generally become—religion in action. His every act was the expression of a truth inwardly realised. It is this which makes him stand out from among all his contemporaries upon the stage of politics and of revolution, marking him as different from those whom failures on their own chosen line drove, sooner or later, to other paths. No outward failure could move this master mind from its accepted standpoint, or cause it for one moment to lower its ideals. Every word he wrote, every undertaking of his strenuous life, was as absolutely religious as the words and acts of Jesus. His life is indeed a second instance of that "harmony between thought and action" which he describes as the "unexampled" characteristic of the life and works of Jesus. As Emerson might have said, it is like an Alexandrian stanza or an acrostic: read it backwards, forwards, or across, it spells the same thing; and that is a profound belief in and an unconquerable hold upon a new synthesis—a new line of truth, foreshadowed by great minds in the past, but now fully disengaged and standing clearly revealed as the beacon light of the future.

"Religions die: Religion is eternal." To many who love the name of Christianity and all the higher influences it connotes, this saying must appear a hard one. Yet if we accept the theory of evolution it is impossible for us to confine its application to the physical side of life only. There must be progress in the highest department of our individual existence if there is in the lowest; else why the

need of progress at all? Would the lower be impelled to move onwards if not in order to subserve more adequately the increasing demands of the higher? Modern criticism and research have shown the relations of Christianity to older forms of faith; is it unreasonable to suppose that, as there has been an ancestry, there will be a posterity to the most recent revelation of religion? Mazzini repudiated the name of Christian, not because he failed to comprehend the grandiose type and the mission of the Son of Man, but because the Church had stereotyped a creed which it declared to embrace all of His sublime teaching, and had announced finality where He announced none. The progressing conscience of humanity has, in the forty-four years since Mazzini's death, come to feel that there are implications in the teachings of Jesus untouched by the interpretations put upon them, and which, if unfolded, will bring Christianity under so bright a light as to reveal it to us in a new and nobler form. As the youth may truly be said to be the father of the man into whom he develops, though in forming the new he has shed his old body, so may we feel that the faith foreshadowed by Mazzini is the offspring of, and at the same time one with, the old; the limitations of the old being transcended and new dynamic qualities revealed.

To the reader who bears this idea in mind there will be nothing painful in Mazzini's insistence upon the fact that all things, even forms of faith, are transitory. To him, as a student and devoted lover of the Jesus of the Gospels, it was a work of reverent faith to seek to develop germs of teaching neglected by the Church. In his magnificent letter to the Œcumenical Council he says: "It seems as if the symbolic forms of religion, the transformatory work of time upon them, the sanctity of universal tradition and the continuous revelation of the Spirit of God through humanity, were all foreseen by him [Jesus] on the eve of the sacrifice he had accepted; when the darkness of the

future was illuminated by the immense love he bore to his fellow-men.

"'God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth' (John iv. 24). 'And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth . . .' (John xiv. 16, 17). 'I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away; and every branch that beareth fruit he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit' (John xv. 1, 2). 'It is expedient for you that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you' (John xvi. 7). 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth: for he shall not speak of himself; but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak: and he will shew you things to come' (John xvi. 12, 13).

"All the greatest thinkers, from Prometheus to Socrates and Plato, and from them down to our own time, have prophesied the fall of one belief and the rising of another. None had prevision, like Jesus, of the characteristics of the future faith."

The study of the collected thoughts of him who thus penetrated the veil unlifted by the Man of Sorrows because, in that period, no eye would have perceived anything behind it, will enable us to understand and to *act out* those characteristics, and make us better fitted to take our part in the reconstruction, social, moral, and spiritual, of the world in which, as another great thinker announced, *we* are "fellow-workers with God."

E. F. RICHARDS.

"YOU live: therefore you have a law of life. There is no life without its law. Whatever thing exists, exists in a certain method, and is governed by a certain law. . . . To develop yourselves, and act according to your law, is your first, or rather your sole duty. . . . Unless you know this law, you may not pretend to the name and rights of man. . . . In order to be men, you must know the law which distinguishes the *human* nature from that of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, and to it you must conform your actions."

But the vital question—

"the question which humanity has ever addressed to those who have pronounced the word Deity, is, How are we to arrive at the knowledge of this law? And the answers are various even yet.

"Some have replied by pointing to a code, a book, saying: *The whole law of morals is comprised in this book.* Others have said: *Let every man interrogate his own conscience; he will find the definition of good and evil there.*

"Others again, rejecting the judgment of the individual, invoke the universal judgment, and declare: *Wheresoever humanity is agreed in a belief, that belief is the truth.*

"Each and all of these are in error. And facts, unanswerable in the history of the human race, have proved the impotence of all these answers.

"Those who declare that the *whole* moral law is contained in a book, or uttered by one man, forget that there is not a single code of morals which humanity has not abandoned after an acceptance and belief of some centuries, in order to seek after and diffuse another, more advanced than it; nor is there any special reason for supposing that humanity will alter its course now.

"It will be sufficient to remind those who declare the conscience of the individual to be an adequate criterion of the just and true, that no religion, however holy, has existed without heretics—dissenters who dissented from conviction, and were ready to endure martyrdom for their conscience' sake.

"The Protestant world is, at the present day, divided and subdivided into a thousand sects; all founded on the rights of individual conscience; . . . and perpetuating that anarchy of beliefs which is the sole true cause of the social and political disturbances which torment the peoples of Europe.

"And, on the other hand, to those who reject the testimony of individual conscience, and invoke the consent of humanity in their faith—suffice it to say that all the great ideas which have contributed to the progress of humanity hitherto, were, at their commencement, in *opposition* to the belief accepted by humanity, and were preached by individuals whom humanity derided, persecuted, and crucified."

Each of these rules is then, Mazzini says, insufficient alone to enable mankind to obtain a knowledge of the law of God—of truth. Yet both individual conscience and the common consent of humanity are sacred, and to refuse to interrogate either is to deprive oneself of one essential means of reaching truth.

"God has given you both the consent of your fellow-men and your own conscience, even as two wings wherewith to elevate yourselves towards Him. Why persist in cutting off one of them? . . . Both are sacred. God speaks through each: whensoever they agree, whensoever the cry of your own conscience is ratified by the consent of humanity, God is there. Then are you certain of having found the truth, for the one is the verification of the other. . . . The voice of individual conscience does not suffice, at all times, without any other guide, to make known to us the law. Conscience may teach us that a law exists; it cannot teach us the duties thence derived. . . . How many martyrs have sacrificed their existence for imaginary duties, or for errors patent to us all at the present day?

"Conscience, therefore, has need of a guide; of a torch by which to illumine the darkness by which it is surrounded; of a rule by which to direct and verify its instincts. This rule is the intellect of humanity."

Life is brief, and individual faculties are weak and uncertain; they need alike verification and support, and for this Mazzini tells us that the Deity has provided, by placing by the side of individual man

"a Being whose life is continuous, whose faculties are the result and sum of all the individual faculties that have existed for perhaps four hundred ages; a Being who, in

the midst of the errors and crimes of individuals, yet ever advances in wisdom and morality, in whose development and progress God has inscribed, and from epoch to epoch does still inscribe, a line of His law. This Being is humanity. . . . Each of us is born to-day in an atmosphere of ideas and beliefs which has been elaborated by all anterior humanity; and each of us brings with him (even if unconsciously) an element, more or less important, of the life of humanity to come. The education of humanity is built up like those Eastern pyramids to which every passing traveller added a stone. We pass along, the voyagers of a day, destined to complete our individual education elsewhere; but the education of humanity, which is seen by glimpses in each of us, is slowly, progressively, and continuously evolved through humanity. . . . The Spirit of God fecundates it and manifests itself through it, in greater purity and activity from epoch to epoch; now through the instrumentality of an individual, now through that of a people. From labour to labour, from belief to belief, humanity acquires a clearer perception of its own life, of its own mission, of its God and of His law.

"The law of God is one, as God Himself is one; but we only discover it article by article, line by line, according to the accumulated experience of the generations that have preceded us, and according to the extension and increased intensity of association among races, peoples, and individuals. No man, no people, and no age may pretend to have discovered the whole of the law. The moral law, the law of the life of humanity, can only be discovered in its entirety by all humanity united in holy association; when all the forces and all the faculties that constitute our human nature shall be developed and in action.

"But, meanwhile, that portion of humanity most advanced in education does, in its progress and development, reveal to us a portion of the law we seek to know. Its history teaches us the design of God; its wants teach us our duties, because our first duty is to aid the ascent of humanity upon that stage of education and improvement towards which it has been prepared and matured by time and the Divinity."

In order, therefore, to know the truth, Mazzini would have us interrogate both our individual conscience and the consent of humanity; and in order to know our present

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duties he would have us interrogate its wants. Morality is progressive, as is our education and that of the human race. The morality of Christianity differs from that accepted by the Pagan world; and the morality of our own age differs from that of eighteen hundred years ago.

"God, the Father and Educator of humanity, reveals His law to humanity through time and space." We are to "interrogate the tradition of humanity—which is the council of our brother-men—not in the restricted circle of an age or sect, but in all ages, and in the majority of mankind, past and present.

"Wheresoever that consent of humanity corresponds with the teachings of your own conscience, you are certain of the truth—certain, that is, of having read one line of the law of God."

The reader will understand from the above how it is that Mazzini's republicanism was . . . a necessary consequence of his belief in our individual responsibility; in our duty to apply the divine law, and voluntarily to add our individual stone to the pyramid progressively built up by the passing generations of our race. To him the question [was] . . . not that mankind should be well governed, but that they should learn to govern themselves well. . . .

"The physical world, the workshop of humanity, was not given to the few—it was given to labour. Material instruments, neither good nor bad in themselves, but instruments of good or evil according to the individual or collective end to which they are directed, belong to all those who work; and they will be more beneficially and religiously distributed as the gradually increasing education of the human race shall teach the many how best to apply them to good. Nor will the law be humanly fulfilled whilst *a single poor man*, deprived of work and of the fruits due to labour, and abandoned to the alms of the rich, gives the lie to the tradition of the gift of the earth made by God to humanity in the person of the first man, and to that idea of fraternal *communion* contained in the words, *in order* that we all may be one.

"And it is not true that every power comes from God; it is not true that every fact brings with it a right; it is not true that we owe submission and passive obedience to a Government, whatsoever it may be. In the name of the inviolability of our immortal souls, the offspring of God, we pronounce this doctrine to be false, immoral, and atheistical. . . . The sovereign power is in God alone; and the sign of legitimate power on earth is the interpretation and fulfilment of His law.

"No; it is not true that there exists antagonism or separation between heaven and earth. No; it is not true that whilst truth and the justice of God reign in heaven, submission to fact and reverence to brute force is the terrestrial law. No; it is not true that the salvation of the human creature is accomplished here below, as if in a place of expiation, by virtue of resignation and indifference. The earth is of God. The earth upon which Jesus, and, after him, the holy martyrs of humanity, have shed their tears and blood, is the altar upon which we are bound to offer sacrifice to God; the soul is the priest, and our works are the incense which rises to heaven and is acceptable to our heavenly Father. The earth is a ladder towards heaven; and, in order that we may be worthy to mount it, our whole life should be a hymn to God. The place now given to us wherein to bear testimony to our faith, the arena of trial now given to the free creature wherein to furnish the materials for God's judgment, this earth, ought, by our efforts, to be transformed, ameliorated, and purified; and, as we are made in the image of God, it should be rendered more and more in the image of the *kingdom of heaven*, which Jesus foretold to us, and of the splendour of which our conscience, from epoch to epoch, gains a glimpse.

"The law is one, and humanity is bound to fulfil every syllable of it. The soul's salvation, the progress of the individual being through the infinite, the development of the principle of life which God has placed in each of us, depends upon our activity, upon our struggles, upon the sacrifices cheerfully made in order that the law may be fulfilled on earth. God in judging us will not ask, 'What hast thou done for thy soul?' but 'What hast thou done for the sister souls which I have given thee?' For those who admit the unity of God and the consequent unity of the human family, it is one of the truths of faith that we are all responsible for one another. We cannot abandon our companions in life to the woes ignorance and servitude

without being condemned as traitors to the law, to our mission, to the souls confided to our care. The curse of Cain is upon him who does not feel himself his brother's keeper. . . . Every good thought and desire which we do not endeavour, come what may, to translate into action is a sin."

The world is, for Mazzini, the incarnation of a divine idea of perfectibility, to be gradually realised through the labour of all God's creatures; but in the terrestrial existence of individuals, limited in education and capacity, this realisation can only be momentary and imperfect.

"Humanity alone, continuous in existence through the passing generations, continuous in intellect through the contributions of all its members, is capable of gradually evolving, applying, and glorifying the divine idea."

And the stone with which each passing traveller is bound to enrich the pyramid of humanity is his individual recognition and application of this law during his short sojourn on earth.

"I declared from the time that my mind opened to Italian thought that there had long been divorce between the religious and the political idea; . . . that this divorce was fatal; that without a *faith* no good thing was possible — neither a society of brethren nor true and peaceful liberty, . . . nor any efficacious transformation of the corrupt element in which we live; that it was necessary at every cost to reunite earth to heaven, our earthly life to the conception of the life eternal, man to God, his Father and teacher.

"Our fellow-men are sacred; for God lives in all the men by whom the earth is peopled. The universe is His temple, and the sin of every unresisted or unexpiated profanation of the temple weighs on the head of each of the believers. . . . The image of God is disfigured in the immortal souls of your fellow-men, . . . human nature is falsified in the millions of men to whom, as to you, God has confided the associate fulfilment of His design. And do you dare to call yourself *believers* while you remain inert?

"A people—Greek, Polish, Italian, or Circassian—raises the flag of nationality and independence, and combats,

conquers, or dies to defend it. What is it that causes your hearts to beat at the news of those battles, that makes them swell with joy at their victories or sink with sorrow at their defeats?

"A man—it may be a foreigner in some remote corner of the world — arises and, amid the universal silence, gives utterance to certain ideas which he believes to be true; maintains them throughout persecution and in chains, or dies upon the scaffold and denies them not. Wherefore do you honour that man and call him saint and martyr? Why do you respect and teach your children to respect his memory?

"Wherefore do you read so eagerly the prodigies of patriotism registered in Grecian history, and relate them to your children with a sense of pride, as if they belonged to the history of your ancestors?

"Those deeds of Greece are two thousand years old, and belong to an epoch of civilisation which is not and never can be yours. Those men whom you still call martyrs perhaps died for a faith which is not yours; and certainly their death cut short their every hope of individual progress on earth. That people whom you admire in its victories or in its fall is a foreign people, almost unknown to you, and speaking a strange tongue. Their way of life has no influence upon yours. What matters it then to you whether they be ruled by Pope or Sultan, by the King of Bavaria, the Czar of Russia, or a free Government sprung from the consent of the nation?

"It is that there is in your heart a voice that cries unto you: 'Those men of two thousand years ago, those populations fighting afar off, that martyr for an idea for which you would not die—are your brothers; brothers not only in community of origin and nature, but in community of labour and of aim.' Those Greeks passed away, but their deeds remained; and were it not for them you would not have reached your present degree of moral and intellectual development. Those populations consecrated with their blood an idea of national liberty for which you too would combat. That martyr proclaimed by his death that man is bound to sacrifice all things, and, if need be, life itself, for that which he believes to be the truth. . . . You are all soldiers in one army; an army which is advancing by different paths, and divided into different corps, to the conquest of one sole aim. As yet you only look to your immediate leaders; diversity of uniform and of watchword, the distances which separate different bodies

of the troops, and the mountains that conceal them one from another, frequently cause you to forget this great truth and concentrate your thoughts exclusively on your own immediate goal. But there is one above you who sees the whole, and directs all your movements. God alone has the plan of the battle, and He at length will unite you in a single camp, beneath a single banner. How great is the distance between this faith, . . . which will be the basis of the morality of the coming epoch, and the faith which was the basis of the morality of the generations of what we term antiquity!"

We have seen that while Mazzini declares religion to be eternal, he regards the various forms of the religious idea, successively accepted by humanity, as transitory and progressive. His theory is that when the vital principle of a given religion has attained its fullest development, and become identified with the progress of civilisation, it passes away; to be succeeded by another, more in accordance with the wants of the age, and fitted to guide mankind throughout a further stage of progress; "a new idea, vaster and more fruitful than the idea then expiring, is revealed—the centre of faith is moved one degree onwards." And this theory he illustrates by a rapid view of the history of religion in the past.

"The first men *felt* God, but without comprehending, or even seeking to comprehend, Him in His law. They felt Him in His power, not in His love. They conceived a confused idea of some sort of relation between Him and their own individuality; but nothing beyond this. Able to withdraw themselves but little from the sphere of visible objects, they sought to incarnate Him in one of these: in the tree they had seen struck by the thunderbolt, the rock beside which they had raised their tent, the animal which first presented itself before them.

"This was the worship which, in the history of religions, is termed *Fetishism.*

"In those days men comprehended nothing beyond the *family*—the reproduction, in a certain form, of their own individuality; all beyond the family circle were strangers, or, more often, enemies; to aid themselves and their families was to them the sole foundation of morality.

"In later days the idea of God was enlarged. From visible objects men timidly raised their thoughts to abstractions; they learned to generalise. God was no longer regarded as the protector of the family alone, but of the association of many families—of the cities, of the peoples. Thus to *Fetishism* succeeded *Polytheism*, the worship of many gods. The sphere of action of morality was also enlarged. Men recognised the existence of more extended duties than those due to the family alone; they strove for the advancement of the people, of the nation.

"Yet, nevertheless, humanity was still ignored. Each nation stigmatised foreigners as *barbarians*, and endeavoured to conquer or oppress them by force or fraud. Each nation also contained foreigners or barbarians within its own circle, millions of men not admitted to join in the religious rites of the citizens, and believed to be of an inferior nature—slaves among free men.

"The idea of the unity of the human race could only be conceived as a consequence of the unity of God. And the unity of God, though forefelt by a few rare thinkers of antiquity and openly declared by Moses (but with the fatal restriction of believing one sole people His elect), was not a recognised creed until towards the close of the Roman Empire and through the teachings of Christianity.

"Foremost and grandest among the teachings of Christ were these two inseparable truths: *There is but one God; all men are the sons of God.* And the promulgation of these two truths changed the face of the world and enlarged the moral circle to the confines of the inhabited globe. To the duties of men towards the family and country were added duties towards humanity. Man then learned that wheresoever there existed a human being there existed a brother, with a soul immortal as his own, destined, like himself, to ascend towards the Creator, and on whom he was bound to bestow love, a knowledge of the faith, and help and counsel where needed.

"Then did the Apostles utter words of sublime import, in prevision of those great truths of which the germ was contained in Christianity; truths which have been misunderstood or betrayed by their successors. '*For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another*' (St Paul, Rom. xii. 4, 5). '*And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my*

voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd' (St John x. 16)."

But at the present day, says Mazzini, after eighteen hundred years of study, labour, and experience, we have yet to develop these germs; we have yet to teach mankind that as humanity is one sole body, all we, being members of that body, are bound to labour for its advance, and to organise both the family and the country towards that aim. And our actual impotence to achieve this he believes to be attributable to the fact that all existing creeds are but the spectral forms and illusions of a faith from which the soul has departed.

"Our conception of heaven is changed; our former conception of life has been proved imperfect; our former solution of the problems of the relation between God and man is now rejected by the human heart, intellect, conscience, and tradition. . . . Humanity, Europe, is wandering in the void; seeking the new bond destined to link together all the individual beliefs, presentiments, and activities now lost in the isolation of doubt; without a heaven, and, consequently, without the power of transforming earth."

The dogma in which mankind has worshipped is exhausted and consumed. It no longer inspires faith, no longer has power to unite the human race.

"Hesitating between Catholic despotism and Protestant anarchy—between the limitless authority which annihilated the human being and the free conscience of the individual which is powerless to found a social faith—the world both invokes and foresees the coming of a new and vaster unity; destined to combine in holy harmony the two terms tradition and conscience, which, though now disjoined, are, none the less, the two wings given to the human soul wherewith to rise towards truth; a unity which, starting from the foot of the cross, yet embracing all ulterior forms of progress, shall gather together all the various religions into one sole people of believers, and unite all the churches for the building of one vast temple —the Pantheon of Humanity—to God; a unity which, from all the various revelations vouchsafed from time to time by God to the human race, shall compose the

one eternal, progressive revelation of the Creator to His creature."

The dogma itself in which humanity has hitherto worshipped "is exhausted and consumed; but the dawn of a new dogma is approaching."

"To anyone guided and enlightened by the study of historical tradition, it is enough," Mazzini thinks, "to glance at the actual condition of Europe, in order to recognise on every side signs identical with those which eighteen centuries ago foreshadowed the dissolution of Paganism and the inevitable advent of Christianity. The void created by the utter absence of any general, harmonious, civilising initiative in the world, and the consequent moral anarchy; the wars promoted by dynastic or individual interests; the neutralities founded on the indifference of egotism; the peaces built up upon absurd theories of a balance of power, impossible of attainment while limited to material conditions; the question of the nationalities dominating every other, and pointing (as in those days) to a new division of Europe; the emancipation of the working classes become (as in those days the emancipation of the slaves) a source of universal and potent agitation; the uprising of the Slavonian race (as in those days of the Teutonic) in search of a national existence henceforth inevitably decreed; the spread of materialism, the result of an exaggerated negation of the former faith; the aspiration, revealed on every side, after a new religion; the insane attempts at an impossible reconciliation of the old and new—all these, and other signs, proclaim the coming of a new order of things, founded upon principles radically different from those which presided over the epoch now visibly exhausted and consumed. A new conception of life, and of the divine law by which life is governed, ferments beneath every manifestation of the two faculties of thought and action which constitute the human unity."

Thus it appears that, according to Mazzini, new religious truths are dawning upon the horizon, before we have reduced to practice the truths taught by the dogma he believes to be extinct. And this view might tend greatly to dishearten the inquirer, were it not that it appears to be a portion of his theory—verified, he says, by the

history of past religions—that it is only when the new dogma is accepted by the intellect of mankind that the teachings of its predecessor are reduced to practice and identified with progress and civilisation. In other words, each successive dogma—at first a burning and shining light supported solely by the eye of genius, but which the darkness comprehends not,—when at length it is accepted by the multitude, supplies them with a torch by the light of which they are enabled practically to execute the duties commanded by the foregone dogma.

"Every epoch has a faith of its own; every synthesis contains the idea of an aim, a mission; and every mission has its special instrument, its special forces, and its special lever of action."

Mazzini "looked upon the long series of epochs throughout the course of which the progress of humanity is gradually evolved as an equation containing many *unknown quantities*, and saw that every epoch disengages one of these quantities, in order—to use the expression of the algebraist—to transfer it to the number of known quantities contained in the other member of the equation."

He believes that we are entering upon a new epoch, now only in its dawn, and that the unknown quantity it is destined to disengage is *Collective Humanity*; and by the light shed by the recognition of this new synthesis he believes we shall be enabled to realise and reduce to practice the unknown quantity disengaged by the epoch now passed away—*Individual Man.*

"The positive application of a given term of progress to the different branches of the civil, political, and economic organism can only be successfully begun after its moral development in the intellectual sphere is complete. That moral development is the labour of an epoch; and no sooner is it complete than a power—either individual or people—arises to proclaim its results, and consigns its formulæ to the keeping of the nations. A new epoch then begins, in which—while the intellect of humanity is occupied with a newly revealed term—the term of the past and exhausted epoch is, by degrees, practically

realised and applied. The thought of one epoch is only verified in the sphere of action, when the human intellect is already absorbed in the contemplation of the thought of its successor. Were it not so, the connection and coherence of the epochs would be interrupted, and a solution of continuity would take place.

". . . I affirm that the unknown quantity of the Middle Ages *is* transferred to the member of the equation containing the known quantities: the *hypothesis* of the Middle Ages is the *principle* of the present day; the idea of the Middle Ages is now a recognised, admitted law. Does anyone now deny liberty and equality in principle? Does anyone raise doubts as to the theory of rights? The most illiberal monarch fails not to invoke the name of that liberty he secretly abhors; to assert that he is the protector of the rights and liberties of his subjects against the anarchy of factions. The question is, in the sphere of principles, decided. The only struggle is as to its application. The dispute no longer regards the law itself, but its interpretation."

It was, Mazzini says, the mission of the eighteenth century

"to *take stock*, so to speak, of the first epoch of the Christian world; to sum up and reduce to a formula that which eighteen centuries of Christianity had examined, evolved, and achieved; to constitute *individual man* such as he was destined and designed to be—free, sacred, and inviolable. And this mission it accomplished through the French Revolution, which was the political translation of the Protestant Revolution. . . . *The declaration of the rights of man* is the supreme and ultimate formula of the French Revolution. And what, indeed, is man—individual man—if not a right? In the series of terms of progress, does he not represent the human personality, the element of individual emancipation? And the aim of the eighteenth century was to fulfil the *human* evolution, which had been anticipated and foreseen by the ancients, proclaimed by Christianity, and in part realised by Protestantism. A multitude of obstacles stood between the eighteenth century and that aim; . . . the eighteenth century overthrew them. It waged a terrible but victorious war against all things tending to fractionise human power, to deny movement, and to arrest the flight of intelligence. Every great revolution demands a great idea to be its

centre of action; to furnish it with both fulcrum and lever for the work it has to do. This conception the eighteenth century supplied by placing itself in the centre of its own *subject*. . . . Ruins there were without end, but in the midst of these ruins and negations one immense affirmation stood erect: the creature of God, ready to *act*, radiant in power and will; the *ecce homo*, repeated after eighteen centuries of struggle and suffering, not by the voice of the martyr, but from the altar raised by the revolution to victory—right, the faith of individuality, rooted in the world for ever."

The idea of the Christian epoch—the rights of individual man—thus resolutely summed up and affirmed, it remains to reduce it to practice; and this, as we have seen, is, according to Mazzini's theory, only possible by the light of a higher conception. Individual liberty and equality being theoretically admitted, it is necessary to appeal to something higher and holier than the individual before the theory can be translated into action. Is the assertion of the rights of the human individual all that man has to seek? Ought man, gifted with progressive activity, to rest satisfied with his solitary liberty? Does no further mission remain to him on earth than a work of consequences and deductions?

"Because the *unknown quantity* has been determined, because one among the terms of progress—that of the individual—has taken its place among the known and defined quantities, is the series of terms composing the great equation concluded? . . . No, eternal God! thy Word is not all fulfilled; thy thought, the thought of the world, not all revealed. That thought creates still, and will continue to create for ages incalculable by man. The ages that have passed have but revealed to us some fragments of it. Our mission is not concluded. As yet we scarcely know its origin; we know not its ultimate aim. Time and discovery do but enlarge its boundaries. It is elevated from age to age, . . . seeking the law, of which, as yet, we know but the first lines. From initiation to initiation, throughout the long series of thy successive incarnations, this mission has purified and enlarged the formula of sacrifice; it learns the path it has to follow by

the study of an eternally progressive faith. Forms are modified and dissolved; religious beliefs are exhausted: the human spirit leaves them behind, as the traveller leaves behind the fires that warmed him through the night and seeks another sun. But religion remains: the idea is immortal, survives the dead forms, and is reborn from its ashes. The idea detaches itself from the worn-out symbol; disengages itself from its *involucrum*, which analysis has consumed, and shines forth in purity and brightness, a new star in humanity's heaven. How many such shall faith yet kindle ere the whole path of the future shall be illumined? Who shall tell how many stars—secular thoughts liberated from every cloud—shall arise and take their place in the heaven of intellect, ere man, the living summary of the terrestrial word, may declare: *I have faith in myself: my destiny is accomplished?*

"Such is the law. One labour succeeds another, one synthesis succeeds another; and the latest revealed ever presides over the work we have to accomplish,[1] and prescribes its method and organisation. It comprehends all the terms included in the preceding synthesis, *plus* the new term, which becomes the aim of every endeavour, the unknown quantity to be revealed and added to the known.[2] . . . The progressive evolution of the thought of God, of which our world is the visible manifestation, is unceasingly continuous. The chain cannot be broken or interrupted. The various aims are united together—the cradle is linked to the tomb."

The reader who has gone with us so far will understand how—if Mazzini's theory be correct that the results of the Christian synthesis [as formulated by the Church] were summed up and concluded by the eighteenth century, and the aim of that synthesis achieved in the intellectual sphere—it follows, as a necessary consequence, that a new unknown quantity should have to be determined; that a new intellectual aim should be set before the present generation,

[1] The realisation in practice of the foregone synthesis.

[2] "Analysis also has its share in the labour done; but it derives its programme and point of departure from the synthesis of the epoch. Analysis, in fact, has no life of its own; its existence is merely objective; it derives its purpose, law, and mission elsewhere. A portion of every epoch, it is the insignia of none. Those writers who divide the epochs into two classes—organic and critical—falsify history. Every epoch is essentially synthetic, every epoch is organic."

by the light of which higher aim the practical realisation of the foregoing synthesis may be accomplished.

"On every side the doubt has arisen—of what advantage is liberty or equality? What is a free man but a new activity, a force to be put in motion? In what direction shall he move? As chance or caprice may direct? But that is not *life*; it is a mere succession of acts, of phenomena, of emissions of vitality, without bond, relation, or continuity; it is anarchy. The liberty of the one will inevitably clash with the liberty of others; constant strife will arise between individual and individual, and consequent loss of force and waste of the productive faculties vouchsafed to us, and which we are bound to regard as sacred. The liberty of all, if ungoverned by any general directing law, will but lead to a state of warfare among men—a warfare rendered all the more cruel and inexorable by the virtual equality of the antagonists."

Some deemed that they had found a remedy for these evils in the formula of *fraternity*, bestowed by Jesus upon the human race; liberty, equality, and fraternity were adopted as the formula of the future, and men attempted to confine progress within the circle marked out by these three points. But progress broke through the circle: the eternal *cui bono* reappeared; for we all of us demand an aim, a human aim, and fraternity neither supplies any general, social, terrestrial aim nor even implies the necessity of such aim. Although the basis of all society, and first condition of progress, fraternity is not progress; it is not inconsistent with the theory of movement in a circle; although a necessary link between the terms liberty and equality, which sum up the individual synthesis, it does not pass beyond that synthesis; it might be denominated charity, and constitute a starting-point whence humanity should advance in search of the new synthesis, but could not be substituted for it.

"Human research therefore recommenced; men began to perceive that the aim, the function of existence, must also be the ultimate term of that progressive development which constitutes existence itself, and that, therefore, in

order to advance rapidly and directly towards that aim, it was first necessary to determine with exactitude the nature of that progressive development, and to act in accordance with it. *To know the law, and regulate human activity by the law*: such is the best mode of stating the problem.

"Now the law of the individual can only be deduced from the law of the species. The individual mission can only be ascertained and defined by placing ourselves upon an elevation enabling us to grasp and comprehend the whole. We must ascend to the conception of humanity in order to ascertain the secret rule and law of life of the individual, of man. Hence the necessity of a general co-operation, of harmony of effort—in a word, of *association*, —in order to fulfil the work of all.

"'Association,' I am sometimes told, 'is no new principle. By prefixing it as the universal aim you neither create a new synthesis nor yet the necessity for one. Association is only a method, a means of realising liberty and equality, a part of the old synthesis.'

"I admit that association, in the usual acceptation of the word, is nothing more than the *method of progress*. . . . With every step in advance, association gains a corresponding degree of power and extension; and, in this sense, the tendency to association may be said to be contemporary with that progress initiated—in regard to man—with the earliest existence of our planet. It has exercised an action in all the syntheses now exhausted, and will continue to exercise still greater influence in the synthesis we seek to enthrone.

"But although its action has always existed, mankind were unconscious of it, and influenced by it without being themselves aware of it. Such has been the case with progress itself, with the law of gravity, with all great physical and moral truths. Their action existed long before it was revealed to us.

"But is not the difference between a law unknown and a law declared, promulgated, and accepted sufficient to constitute a new starting-point for the activity of the human intellect? The law once defined, the regulation of our activity by it becomes a duty; its fulfilment becomes the aim of all human endeavour; and the method of deriving the maximum of utility from its fulfilment becomes the study of every thinker. The human intellect no longer wastes precious time in researches the object of which has been realised. Power is increased a hundredfold when it is concentrated and a definite direction is

given to its action. Previously to the promulgation of the law, the mere instinctive sense of its existence could do no more than constitute a *right*, and a right almost always contested.

"Great historical epochs do not date from the existence of a law, a truth, or a principle; but from the time of its promulgation. Were it not so, it would be idle to speak of distinct epochs or syntheses; truth is one and eternal, and the thought of God, in which was the germ of the world, contained them all. Equality existed, as a principle, long before Jesus, and the world was unconsciously tending towards it. Why then admit the existence of a Christian epoch? The earth described its revolutions round the sun without awaiting the revelations of Copernicus or Galileo, or the Newtonian formulæ. Why then do we make distinct astronomical epochs of the systems of Ptolemy and Newton?"

The formulation of this law of association necessitates, Mazzini believes, a complete alteration in all our theories of government, in all our philosophical, political, and economic studies: which have hitherto been inspired solely by the principle of liberty.

"The sacred word *humanity*, pronounced with a new meaning, has opened up a new world before the eye of genius—a new world hitherto only forefelt—and commenced a new epoch. . . . Have not all our schools of philosophy for the last twenty years[1]—even when abandoning the true path and returning to the past—been seeking the great unknown quantity? . . . And we daily hear the word humanity proffered by the lips of materialists who are incapable of appreciating its meaning. . . . Whether as a real belief, or an enforced homage, the new epoch obtains its due acknowledgment from intellect almost without exception. . . . We all feel, both in heart and brain, the presentiment of a great epoch; and we have sought to make of the negations and analyses of the eighteenth century the banner of the faith of that epoch. Inspired by God to utter the sublime words—*regeneration, progress, new mission, the future*—we yet persist in striving to realise the material triumph of the programme contained in those words with the instrument that served for the realisation of a mission now concluded.

[1] Written in 1835.

"We invoke a *social* world—a vast, harmonious organisation of the forces existing in undirected activity in the vast laboratory, the earth; and in order to call this new world into existence, and to lay the foundations of a pacific organisation, we have recourse to the old habits of rebellion, which consume our forces within the circle of individualism. We proclaim the future in the midst of ruins. Prisoners whose chain had but been lengthened, we boasted ourselves emancipated and free, because we found ourselves able to move around the column to which we were bound."

The great error of the revolutionary party of Europe, according to Mazzini, is that they come forward

"like renegades, without a God, without a law, without a banner to lead towards the future. The former aim has vanished from their view; the new, dimly seen for an instant, is effaced by that theory of rights which alone directs their labours. They make of the individual both the means and the aim. They talk of humanity—a formula essentially religious—and banish religion from their work. They talk of synthesis, and yet neglect the most powerful and active element of human existence. Bold enough to be undaunted by the dream of the material unity of Europe, they thoughtlessly destroy its moral unity by failing to recognise the primary condition of all association—*uniformity of sanction and belief*. . . . You marvel at the slow advance of the peoples on the path of sacrifice and association, and yet you propose to them a programme of individuality the sole value of which is negative, the result of which is a method, not of organisation, but of juxtaposition, and which, if analysed, will be found to be nothing more than egotism wrapped in a mantle of philosophic formulæ."

But the advance of the revolutionary party in the nineteenth century cannot be guided by negations.

"The religious idea is the very breath of humanity—its life, soul, existence, and manifestation. Humanity only exists in the consciousness of its origin and the presentiment of its destiny; and only reveals itself by concentrating its powers upon some one of the intermediate points between the two."

And this is, he tells us, precisely the function of the religious idea. That idea constitutes a faith in an origin

common to us all; sets before us, as a principle, a common future; unites all the active faculties in one sole centre, whence they are continuously evolved and developed in the direction of that future, and guides the latent forces of the human mind towards it.

"It lays hold of life in its every aspect and in its slightest manifestations, utters its augury over the cradle and the tomb, and affords—philosophically speaking—at once the highest and most universal formula of a given epoch of civilisation, the most simple and comprehensive expression of its knowledge (*scientia*), the ruling synthesis by which it is governed as a whole, and by which its successive evolutions are directed from on high. . . . We are standing between two epochs: between the tomb of one world and the cradle of another; between the boundary line of the individual synthesis and the confines of the synthesis humanity. What we have to do is to fix our eyes upon the future while we break the last links of the chain that binds us to the past."

And, addressing himself to the Church, which still endeavours to maintain the authority of the "exhausted and consumed dogma" which "no longer inspires faith, no longer has power to unite the human race," Mazzini proceeds to break these last links in the following solemn manner:—

"I do accuse you of insanely pretending that a beacon kindled eighteen hundred years ago to illumine our journey across a single epoch is destined to be our sole luminary across the path of the infinite; . . . of destroying the unity of collective humanity by dividing mankind into two arbitrary sections, one devoted to error and the other sacred to truth; and of blaspheming against the eternally creative and revealing power of God by imprisoning the Word within an insignificant fraction of time and space; . . . of crucifying humanity upon Calvary; rejecting every attempt to detach the idea from the symbol, and petrifying the living Word of God. You reduce all history (which is the successive manifestation of that Word) to a single moment; you extinguish free-will (without which no consciousness of progress can exist) beneath the fatalism of hereditary responsibility, and cancel all merit in works or sacrifice by the omnipotence of grace."

The actual Church being thus opposed to the spirit of truth, and as there exists at present no other,

"We are now," says Mazzini, "the Church Militant of Precursors to the Temple, which shall be rebuilt, invoking the kingdom of God *on earth as it is in heaven.* We are the Church of Precursors, until the virtuous who feel the necessity of a true and living faith as the unifier of all human efforts and inspirer of all human faculties,—having assembled in council, having interrogated progress, having explored the evils and decreed the remedies for our state,—shall lay the first stone of the Universal Church of Humanity.

"Religion is with us, not with you.[1] You materialise it by the exclusive adoration of one of its forms; as if the living God could be enchained in a single form; as if any *form* of religion could ever be other than a finite symbol of the truth which He dispenses in the chosen measure of time; as if, when one form were exhausted, it were possible that God should perish or withdraw Himself from the world which is naught other than a manifestation of His thought; as if it were possible to assign a limit to the thought of God; as if any people, any epoch, or any religion might presume to have comprehended that thought entire; as if humanity were not bound constantly to labour and to advance, in order to acquire a knowledge of, and identify itself with, that portion of the divine idea destined to be realised on earth."

In thus saying *we*, Mazzini includes all who, like himself,

"reject the barren negations of the unreflectingly rebellious,—who, because one form of religion is exhausted, imagine that the eternal religious life of humanity is destroyed,—and the inefficacious pretences of a Church which has neither knowledge, will, nor power any longer to direct that life. I include all who, like me, abhor the loathsomeness of materialism, and are ready to do battle against it in the name of the ideal; all who reverently seek the *City of the Future,* a new heaven and a new earth, destined to gather together, in the name and in the love of God and of man, and in faith in a common aim, all those who now wander through your fault, mid fear of the present and doubt of the future, in moral and intellectual anarchy. I

[1] It may be objected that these words are addressed to the Pope. They are, however, addressed to him simply as the head of the typical and representative Church of the dogma Mazzini has declared extinct.

include those who know that from epoch to epoch God utters a new syllable of eternal truth to humanity; that every religion is an initiation towards the one destined to succeed it; and that an educational revelation ceaselessly descends, in manner varying with the times, upon the nations; that to arbitrarily seek to limit that revelation to a given fraction of time, to one sole people, or to a single individual, is the only heresy essentially denying God, the manifestation of His life, and the unbroken and continuous link existing between the divine thought and humanity which is destined gradually to discover and to incarnate that thought upon earth.

"I include all those who,—anxiously interrogating the signs of the times, and observing, on the one hand, the constant increase of egotism, the dissolution of every power, the impotence of every ancient authority; and, on the other, the universal agitation of the peoples, the growing though confused aspirations of intelligence, the apparition of new elements demanding admission into the social edifice, of new words potent to move the multitudes, and the tendency towards a new morality vaster than the former,—recognise in all these things the indications of a new epoch, and, therefore, of a religious transformation.

"The root of every religion is *a definition of life and of its mission.* For you that definition of life is the doctrine of original sin, and of resurrection to God through a Divine Being who descended upon earth to sacrifice Himself in expiation of that sin.

"Our definition of life asserts the imperfection of the finite creature, and its gradual self-correction, by virtue of a capacity of progression given to all men through works; through the sacrifice of the egotistic instincts for the sake of the common improvement; and through faith in a divine ideal which each of us is bound to incarnate in himself.

"We believe in God, who is Intellect and Love, Educator and Lord.

"We believe therefore in a sovereign moral law, the expression of His intellect, and of His love.

"We believe in a law of duty for all of us; and that we are bound to love, to comprehend, and, as far as possible, to incarnate that law in our actions.

"We believe that the sole manifestation of God visible to us is life; and in it we seek the evidences of the divine law.

"We believe that as God is *one,* so is life *one,* and one

the law of life throughout its twofold manifestation, in the *individual* and in *collective* humanity.

"We believe in conscience—the revelation of life to the individual, and in tradition—the revelation of life to humanity, as the sole means given to us by God by which to comprehend His design; and that when the voice of conscience and the voice of tradition are harmonised in an affirmation, that affirmation is the truth, or a portion of the truth.

"We believe that conscience and tradition, if religiously interrogated, will reveal to us that the law of life is progress: progress indefinite in all the manifestations of being, the germs of which, inherent in life itself, are gradually and successively developed throughout the various stages of existence.

"We believe that as life is one, and the law of life is one, the progress destined to be wrought out by collective humanity, and gradually revealed to us by tradition, must be equally wrought out by the individual; and, since that indefinite progress, forefelt and conceived by conscience and proclaimed by tradition, cannot be completely realised in the brief terrestrial existence of the individual,—we believe that it will be fulfilled elsewhere, and we believe in the continuity of the life made manifest in each of us, and of which our terrestrial existence is but one period.

"We believe that as in collective humanity every presentiment of a vaster and purer ideal, every earnest aspiration towards good, is destined—it may be after the lapse of ages—to be realised, so in the individual every intuition of the truth, every aspiration—even if at present inefficacious—towards good, and towards the ideal, is a pledge of future development, a germ to be evolved in the course of the series of existences constituting life.

"We believe that as collective humanity in its advance gradually acquires a knowledge and comprehension of its own past, so will the individual, in his advance upon the path of progress, acquire, in proportion to the degree of moral education achieved, the consciousness and memory of the past stages of his existence.

"We believe not only in progress, but in man's *solidarity* in progress, that as in collective humanity the generations are linked one with the other, and the life of the one fortifies, assists, and promotes the life of the other, so also is individual linked with individual, and the life of one is of benefit to the life of the rest, both here and elsewhere.

"We believe that pure, virtuous, and constant affection is a promise of communion in the future, and a link—invisible but powerful in its effect upon human action—between the dead and the living.

"We believe that progress, the law of God, must infallibly be achieved by *all*; but we believe that we are bound to work out the consciousness of that progress and to *deserve* it through our own efforts; and that time and space are vouchsafed to us by God as the sphere of *free-will*, wherein we merit or demerit in proportion as we accelerate or delay it.

"We believe, therefore, in human *free-will*: the condition of human responsibility.

"We believe in human equality—that is to say, that God has given to all mankind the faculties and powers necessary to the achievement of an equal amount of progress; we believe that all are both *called* and *elected* to achieve it, sooner or later, according to their own works.

"We believe that all that tends to impede human progress, equality, and solidarity is evil, and that all that tends to promote them is good.

"We believe in the duty of each and all ceaselessly to combat evil, and to promote good by thought and action; we believe that, in order to overcome evil and to promote good in each of us, it is necessary to overcome evil and to promote good in others and for others. We believe that no man can work out his own salvation otherwise than by labouring for the salvation of others. We believe that the sign of evil is *egotism*, and the sign of virtue, *sacrifice*.

"We believe our actual existence to be a step towards a future existence; the earth to be a place of trial, wherein, by overcoming evil and promoting good, we are bound to deserve to advance. We believe it to be the duty of each and all to sanctify the earth, by realising *here* as much as it is possible to realise of the law of God. And from this faith we deduce our morality.

"We believe that the instinct of progress, innate in humanity from the beginning, and now become a leading tendency of the human intellect, is the sole revelation of God to mankind—a revelation vouchsafed to all, and continuous.

"We believe that it is in virtue of this revelation that humanity advances from epoch to epoch, from religion to religion, upon the path of improvement assigned to it.

"We believe that whosoever presumes at the present day to arrogate that revelation to himself, and declare that he is the privileged intermediate between God and man, is a blasphemer.

"We believe that authority is sacred when, consecrated by genius and virtue—sole priests of the future—and made manifest by the greatest power of sacrifice, it preaches truth, and is freely accepted by mankind as their guide to truth; but we believe that we are bound to combat and exterminate, as the offspring of falsehood and parent of tyranny, every authority not invested with these characteristics.

"We believe that God is God, and humanity is His prophet. . . .

"Humanity has worshipped in the religion of the Father, and in that of the Son. Give place to the religion of the Holy Spirit. . . .

"Such, in its broad outlines, is our faith. In that faith we reverentially embrace, as stages of the progress already achieved, all the manifestations of religion in the past, and, as symptoms and previsions of future progress, every earnest and virtuous manifestation of religious thought in the present.

"In that faith we recognise God as the Father of all, humanity as one in community of origin, of law, and of aim, the earth as sanctified by the gradual accomplishment of the divine design, and the *individual*—blessed with immortality, free-will, and power—as the responsible artificer of his own progress.

"In this faith we live; in it we will die; in it we love, labour, hope, and pray."

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